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ABSTRACT

The Robert Taylor Boys and Girls Club of Chicago is located in this country's largest public housing development, serving over 1,500 predominantly African American members. It offers a brightly-colored building in a dilapidated, deprived area. It provides a clean, warm, safe haven for children to play, build strong bodies, get help with homework, and learn to use computers and the Internet. Children have a gymnasium, a stage, physical education activities, social activities, books, arts and crafts, computers, and day care. It is open from 2-6 p.m. for younger children and after 6 p.m. for older children. Three club rules are no hats (to ensure gang neutrality), no smoking, and no sunflower seeds. Though the neighborhood is dilapidated, it offers a magnet school for the brightest children. The club has successfully created a neutral zone among gang territories and is making a difference in the lives of local children. It hosts various activities for the community to bring residents together. A series of interdependent relationships are balanced in order for the club to survive (e.g., children, safe environments, the police force, and the community). A sidebar presents one club member's positive story. (SM)

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U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Justice Programs
Bureau of Justice Assistance

Bulletin From the Field

February 1999

Practitioner Perspectives

Onsite Visits, Case Histories, and State and Local Innovations From the Bureau of Justice Assistance

BJA

Nancy E. Gist, Director

ED 441 070

The Robert Taylor Boys and Girls Club of Chicago

By Patrick J. Coleman, Elizabeth Lahey, and Kristine Orlando, BJA

Founded in 1991, this Club is located in the largest public housing development in the United States. The Club serves more than 1,500 members, predominantly African-Americans, in the Grand Boulevard and Washington Park areas of Chicago.

On March 23, 1998, we hailed a Checker Cab on Chicago's North Side and asked the driver to go to 5120 South Federal Street. It was obvious that the cab driver had no idea where this address was; this address is not frequented by cabs. From a few blocks away, any one of the 16-story, high-density (32.4 units per acre), low-income Robert Taylor Homes could be any apartment building.[1] However, the uniformity of the brick-red and dust-white alternating clusters of rectangular buildings gives the neighborhood an institutional look.

The outside walls of the Robert Taylor Boys and Girls Club of Chicago (the Club) are covered with bright colorful murals depicting children playing sports and enjoying themselves. The almost electric yellow, green, and purple pictures send the message that this place is fun. The Club stands in sharp contrast to the Robert Taylor Homes development located directly across the street with its dilapidated, circa 1959, buildings surrounded by mud and broken glass. Nothing else colorful was visible on South Federal Street, not even businesses with colorful signs.

Boys and Girls Clubs of Chicago Board Member Mrs. Renee Crown visits the Robert Taylor Homes Boys and Girls Club.

In 1996 President Clinton authorized $100 million in grant funding for the Boys and Girls Clubs of America (B&GCA) to be awarded over 5 years. The bulk of these funds are being used to enhance the programming of the 2,500 Clubs around the

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country so that they can serve an additional 1 million children. In 1996, the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) was awarded $35.35 million of these funds to support B&GCA over the next 5 years. In 1997, 260 jurisdictions received funding for new clubs or outreach programs.[2]

We went to the Robert Taylor Boys and Girls Club to see if it is possible to maintain a neutral, safe haven for children living in impoverished conditions in a neighborhood troubled by violence and crime on the border between rival gang territories. If you look at the Chicago Police Department's crime maps of the 5100 South Federal Street neighborhood during the 2 weeks around our visit to the Club (figure 1), you can see the incredible rate of crime and violence that occurs in this area. Even the crime map covering a 24-hour period during our visit (figure 2) is littered with marks indicating narcotics and assault and battery crimes. Can a club—an afterschool program—really make a difference in the lives of children facing such enormous challenges?

Assorted Crime Incidents for District 002 – All Locations

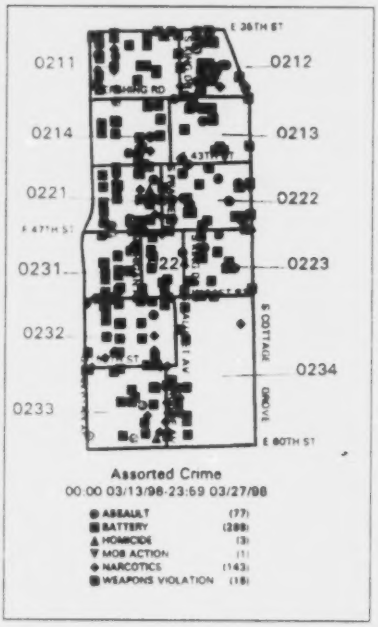

Figure 1. Crime activity over a 2-week period in the Robert Taylor Homes neighborhood.

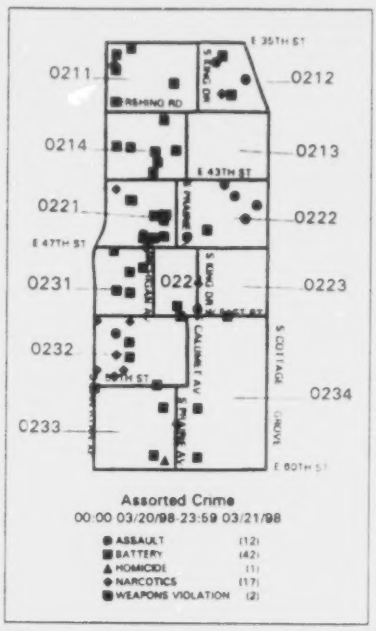

Figure 2. Crime activity in a 24-hour period in the Robert Taylor Homes neighborhood.

The Club is an amazing place. This public, nonprofit organization has the mission of "building men and women, one kid at a time." The Club is paradoxically situated in a community where all the raw materials—the children—are available, but almost none of the resources necessary to refine those raw materials and accomplish the Club's mission are available. And yet, from our viewpoint, the Club is an unqualified success. It provides a clean, warm, safe haven for children—a place where they can play, build strong bodies, get help with their homework, and learn how to use computers and the Internet. This is a place where children can dance and laugh and dream; where children can develop and find the support to resist the destructive influences of the world around them; where, considering the specter of the housing development across the street, the children can latch onto hope and turn their dreams into reality.

A Tour of the Club

Into the Club we went. As we entered, we passed a paper banner that said, "Welcome Justice Dept." And even though there was no one in sight, we felt welcome. The clean, bright, colorful entryway was full of life. Ken Dunkin, the Director of the Club, greeted us and led us to the activity room. Like the Club's exterior, the entire length of the main hallway is painted with bright, colorful murals.

This series is dedicated to the exploration of vital issues in criminal justice program development and management. Case studies highlight the work of progressive, innovative people and programs in state and local criminal justice systems. Although a case study may include a detailed description of the operational aspects of a program, it is not a scientific program evaluation. Rather, it is a document designed to explore the interaction of factors such as collaboration, politics, resources, culture, and others that play a part in successful public management.

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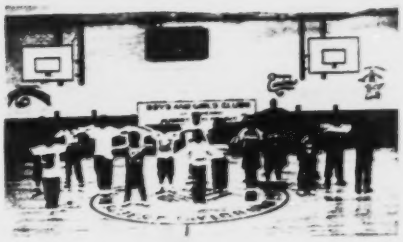
One Club Member's Story

My name is Laresa Robinson and I live in the Robert Taylor Homes in Chicago, Illinois. My home is in a crime-infested neighborhood. I was stereotyped as a criminal when I was only 13 years of age. I am the oldest of four children, and I'm the first to attend a 4-year college. My mother wasn't able to finish high school, and I believe that is the reason why she pushed me so hard to go to college. Most members of my family were gang members, but the Robert Taylor Boys and Girls Club showed me that there is more to life than gangs and motivated me so that I would not become a crime statistic. The Club and my mother are helping me become the woman that I am going to be. Ken Dunkin, the Director of the Club, is a positive role model for me and the other children in my neighborhood. I was a junior helper in the computer room at the Club, where I received much valuable hands-on computer experience. I am currently a Computer Information Systems major at Wartburg College in Waverly, Iowa. I am forever thankful to the Club for providing me with this opportunity.

Director Dunkin told us later that children participating in a summer jobs program were paid to paint the murals with the assistance of artists from the Chicago Children's Museum. We noticed that, although the hall floors seemed clean enough to eat off of, a janitor was preparing to polish the floors with a large machine. Ken explained that keeping the Club clean was a high priority and he believes that part of a healthy and safe environment is order and cleanliness. Gang symbols are forbidden in the Club, and the children are not allowed to wear ball caps inside. The color of a cap, Ken explained, is one way a youth can indicate his or her membership in a particular gang.

In the activity room, we were introduced to Dr. Billie Adams, a well-respected pediatrician and member of the Club's advisory board. We explained to Dr. Adams and Ken that we wanted to write a case study about the Club's mission and activities, and that we were interested in how the Club functioned and survived in a public housing setting.

Dr. Adams indicated the building across the street and said, "What this kind of deprivation has meant to the community, is that there is no community outside of the Club. Even if there were a theater or a store it would be better. But there's nothing. No after-school programs at all outside of the Club." This deprivation is reflected in the extreme demographics of the people living in the Robert Taylor Homes. Of the more than 11,000 people living in the development, less than 5 percent are employed, 84 percent earn less than $10,000 a year, and 41 percent earn less than $5,000 a year. Seventy percent of the Taylor residents are under age 21, and 99.9 percent are African American.[3]



Children participate in athletic programs in the Club's six-rim gym.

The Robert Taylor Boys and Girls Club provides a clean, warm, safe haven for children—a place where they can play, build strong bodies, get help with their homework, and learn how to use computers and the Internet.

We asked Dr. Adams what the Club needs to succeed in the Robert Taylor Neighborhood. "Resources!" she proclaimed. "The need for resources here is terrible. The staff are stretched to the limit. This Club is less than 10 years old, so it doesn't have the donor base that a lot of the older clubs have. That makes it really hard to raise enough money from private donations. Older clubs have a donor base of children that grew up in the club and now give back to the club that helped them." She noted that some clubs have a lot of contributors for special reasons, as in the case of the James Jordan Boys and Girls Club of Chicago—the club named after Michael

Jordan's late father. "[The Club at Robert Taylor] has neither of these things going for it and is often struggling to make ends meet."

From the activity room, Director Dunkin led us to the Club's impressive gym, which is almost the length of a football field. It has six basketball rims and a gleaming floor. Standing in the gym you have the impression that you are on the court of a professional basketball team. It is a sharp contrast to the dilapidated courts across the street that are littered with broken glass.

At one end of the gym is a stage where the children put on plays. At the other end of the gym, Marty, the physical education instructor and former high school all-American baseball, football, and basketball player, monitored the children as they played basketball. Marty is a large friendly man, and the children's respect for him was apparent. Ron, a volunteer little league baseball coach, was also present, signing children up for the spring leagues. We asked Ron what he thought this Club means to the children and he told us, "People from the outside looking in [at this community] think there's nothing good here. But these kids want to be doing positive things. The Club and these [baseball] leagues give them a chance to do something positive."

The younger children, ages 6–12, are allowed access to the Club from 2 p.m. until 6 p.m., and the older children are allowed to come in after 6 p.m. Director Dunkin explained the importance of separating older children from younger children. The younger children need to be protected from some of the older children's bad habits, like profanity. It is also important that the younger children be sent home at earlier hours to ensure that they arrive home safely and spend the evenings with their families.

Children develop computer skills in the Club's computer room.

Our next stop was the Club's library located down the hall from the gym. We were pleased to see that the library is large and houses many books. The books are in good condition, and the walls are adorned with colorful artwork by the children. It resembles an elementary school library. Several children were sitting at a small table reading and laughing. The friendly librarian explained that the Chicago Public Library operates the library.

The Robert Taylor Homes Local Advisory Council has an office in the Club building. We stopped by the office and spoke to Mildred Dennis, the Local Advisory Council President. Ms. Dennis told us that the city is preparing to tear down the Robert Taylor Homes and finding housing for the development's residents has been difficult. Two forms of relocation are being planned by the city. Robert Taylor residents may be relocated to low-density housing developments in other neighborhoods or they may be given rent subsidies to allow them to relocate to "nonpublic" housing developments.

The three rules of the Club were posted on the walls throughout the building: 1) No hats (to ensure that the Club remains gang neutral); 2) No smoking; and 3) No sunflower seeds. Despite the rules posted throughout the Club, we encountered one brave little girl in the gym eating sunflower seeds.

We toured the day care center, the computer room, the dance room, and the game room on the second floor of the Club. We spent most of our time in the computer room, which was filled with young enthusiastic children who were laughing, learning, and getting along. Around the room more than 24 computers lined the walls. The E-mail Club had recently had a sleep over in the computer room and the kids eagerly told us about it. One wall had windows with a view of the housing development. It was "E-mail Day" in the computer room. The children were sending e-mail messages to their assigned pen pals at a large consulting firm located in Chicago. Ken explained that the consulting firm was a "good friend" of the Club. Some of the children played games on the computer and others wrote book reports.

The Club provides literacy classes and welfare-to-work programs for adults and offers a wide variety of programs for children, including physical education, social and recreational activities, and arts and crafts.

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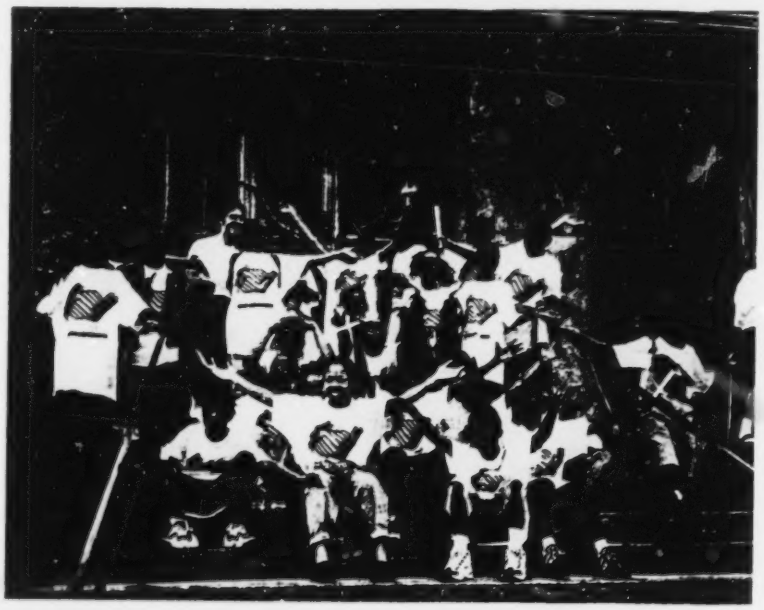
Other stops on the tour included an area where the Club provides literacy classes and welfare-to-work programs for adults. Ken told us that the Club is renovating the dance room so that African dance and ballet classes can be offered; a major hardware store has agreed to donate the materials.

Back in the computer room, we met DeAndre, a bright 12-year-old boy. Because of his excellent grades in school, DeAndre went to Disney World last year with children from other Boys and Girls Clubs around the country who had their own success stories. We asked DeAndre why he liked to come to the Club and he told us, "My favorite part is the computer room. I like to write e-mail [messages] and do my homework here. Coming to the Club gives me a place to go instead of getting involved in one of the gangs." We asked DeAndre why most of the kids he knows get involved with gangs. "For protection," he said. "Kids get into gangs because they don't feel safe any other way."



The Club exposes the children to events outside of the Robert Taylor community.

We asked our friend DeAndre to interview Club Director Ken Dunkin so that we could learn about the Club's history and the everyday problems he and his staff face. DeAndre found out that a man named Carl Lavender founded the Club in 1991 and currently serves as the Senior Vice President.

"Coming to the Club gives me a place to go instead of getting involved in one of the gangs."

DeAndre (12 years old)
Club member

The Club building is a sharp contrast to the units that make up the Robert Taylor Homes development.

The Club receives funding from private donors and grant funding from local, state, and federal sources. The building that houses the Club is leased from the Chicago Public School System for $1.00 per year.

Ken explained that the Club offers a wide variety of programs, including physical education, social and recreational activities, and arts and crafts, for children like DeAndre. "We try to expose [the children to events] outside of this community," Ken said. For example, DeAndre has seen *The*

Nutcracker Suite and the Dance Theater of Harlem, and he has attended a White Sox game, a Bears game, and several Bulls games.

Ken singled out the Club's computer room as a particularly valuable resource. Working with computers allows children the opportunity to familiarize themselves with today's emerging technologies—writing and sending e-mail messages, surfing on the Internet, and even designing Web pages.

DeAndre asked Ken about the Club's future prospects, and Ken mentioned that the Chief Executive Officer of Boys and Girls Clubs of Chicago and the Mayor of Chicago met recently to discuss possibly establishing a second club in the area. Ken was not certain when this might happen, however. "Maybe within the next 5 years," he said.

A Walk Through the Robert Taylor Homes Development

The Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) describes the Robert Taylor Homes development thusly:

> *The physical conditions of Robert Taylor–B include obsolete mechanical and electrical systems, outdated elevators, leaking plumbing, inadequate security, deteriorating hot water tanks and heating riser systems, and an inadequate sanitary waste system. The building design includes open-air galleries on each floor that lead to weather exposure (a major cause of elevator breakdown) and high levels of criminal activity.*[4]

The main hallways of Robert Taylor highrises are open to the elements.

We buttoned our coats as we exited the Club. The Hulk, as Ken refers to the Chicago wind, blew ferociously through the corridors formed by the buildings as we walked between them. Children were playing outside and laughing happily, even though there was no playground.

As we walked across the street toward the Robert Taylor Homes development, we immediately noticed that many windows in each building were boarded up and painted a dark red. The entrance to the first building was dark. We didn't see the person standing in the doorway until we passed by him. As we walked through the unlit, 15-foot passageway, our noses were assaulted by the odor of sewage. Glass crunched under our feet as we walked between buildings.

The first building we visited houses the offices of CHA and the Local Advisory Council President. We were told that this is one of the nicest buildings of the complex. We walked through an entranceway but were still out in the elements because the main hallways of this complex are open to the outside. Exposure is limited only by the steel mesh screen that is welded to the open side of the hallways. You would think this design would give a feeling of openness, yet we just couldn't shake the feeling that we were in prison. We walked 20 feet down to the CHA office, which is different from the rest of the building. It is bright, has been painted a light color, and is warm. We asked a CHA employee why the windows of some apartments are boarded up and painted red. He answered, "Because they are vacant and the Housing Authority boards them up to keep drug dealers from doing business in them."

We then walked across the hall to a stairway. The entrance to the stairway was guarded by a heavy, gray metal door. We began walking up the stairs, but, after two flights, it got very dark and we stopped. We contemplated our safety if we were to climb any higher. We noticed that the light fixture was gone and bare wires were hanging from the ceiling. Ken asked that we close the stairwell door, cutting off our

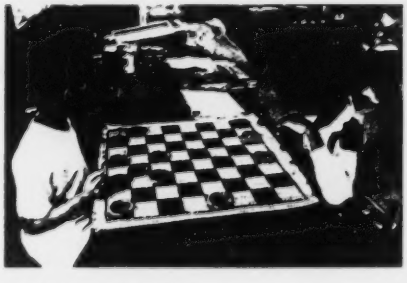
only available source of light. It was so dark that we couldn't even see each other. "Imagine," Ken said, "the elevator broken, as it often is, and having to walk up to the 10th floor at 7 p.m. when there isn't even the sunlight to provide guidance. Your hands [are] full of groceries." As we reopened the door, Ken commented that he routinely carries a flashlight with him. Later, when walking through the common areas of the development, we noticed that virtually all of the light bulbs and light fixtures were missing.

When we walked out of the stairwell at the next floor, we were greeted by the stench of trash. As we looked over the vacant courtyard, we felt as if we were standing in a war zone. The walls were covered with graffiti. Directly across from the elevators was the source of the odor—the trash chute. Garbage that had missed the small opening was piled all around it. Ken said, "Imagine being 7 years old and your mama asks you to take the trash out and you have to find your way through all that." Even at 3:30 in the afternoon the room with the trash chute was completely dark. Ken pushed the elevator button to take us up for a view of the whole complex. After waiting for several minutes, we determined that the elevator must be broken and walked down the stairs.

When we walked out of the building, a moving truck pulled up. Ken asked the two men unloading the contents of the truck if they were moving in. One answered that they were, and Ken gave them a hearty welcome to the neighborhood. It was a typical moving-day scene. However, with all the talk of redevelopment, it was surprising to see people moving in. In fact, the CHA has received approval from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to demolish 5 of the 28 buildings at Robert Taylor. Three of the buildings have already been selected and the other two will be selected by CHA in consultation with Robert Taylor residents. CHA has begun relocation planning for the residents of all buildings that are set to be demolished.[5]

Ken pointed out the magnet school on State Street. This special school is for the best and brightest kids in the neighborhood. Ken made the observation that the school building doesn't have one window on the side that faces the housing development.

We walked past the omnipresent person in the doorway to the next building where we walked through an unlit 15-foot tunnel and back into the elements again. These apparent "sentries" at every door just stood there, noting our presence. Ken stopped outside the next building in order for us to see the cables coming out of all the windows and connecting to the centrally located cable box like a giant thin legged spider clinging to the side of the building. "At least you get free cable here," Ken joked. We started to walk further but were stopped by a little girl questioning Ken why she didn't get a job she had applied for at the Club. She was dressed like most of the people we encountered during our walk, in clean, well-kept clothing. Ken motioned for her to come back with us to the Club, and we turned around to set out for the safety, security, and warmth of the Club. Once inside, we realized for ourselves why the Club seemed to be "paradise in the middle of hell" as one of the Club volunteers described it.



Children pass the time in a safe, warm, and learning environment.

Success in the Midst of Strife

Our walk through the Robert Taylor Homes development lasted between 30 and 45 minutes at most, but it left images of decay and despair in our minds. The contrast between the clean, warm, welcoming order of the Club and the conditions across the street was almost impossible to reconcile. During our brief visit we were able to determine that it is possible to maintain a safe haven for children living in an impoverished neighborhood troubled by crime and violence. The Club has successfully created a neutral zone among gang territories and is making a difference in the lives of this neighborhood's children.

By any standard, the Club has been a great success—as a model of cost efficiency and as a service provider to the community. With approximately 1,500 members and an annual budget of just over $325,000, all Club services are provided at a cost of less than 65 cents per member per day.

Club Director Ken Dunkin (left) with Dr. Frank Gardner, Honorary Board Chair.

Club staff are dedicated and enthusiastic and are willing to work for low wages in a dangerous neighborhood. The Club is supported by private contributions and in-kind donations of equipment; goods; services; volunteer time; local, state, and federal (including Bureau of Justice Assistance[9]) grants; and ongoing coordination with the Boys and Girls Clubs of Chicago. The Club is open 313 days a year and serves more than 300 children and community members each day.

The Club has also been a success for the community, hosting a number of major events that help to bring residents together. Each spring, the Club organizes the "We Are Family Festival," during which residents of all ages are treated to food, music, and entertainment. Every fall, the Club hosts a Halloween party and haunted house. The Club serves a Thanksgiving Day dinner that all community members are welcome to attend.

The Club has also been a success for the community, hosting a number of major events that help to bring residents together.

There is also a Winter Holiday Celebration for the community with holiday foods and gifts and toys for the children. In addition, the Club conducts three to four clothing drives a year, provides day care services, and organizes computer literacy training, basic educational classes, and job skills training in banking services and housekeeping for parents in the community. The Club fosters success and builds marketable and social skills through activities and clubs such as the Club's Keystone Club, Torch Club, and "Teens, Crime, and the Community," as well as Junior Achievement. Through these specific efforts the Club provides a regular community service workforce to the neighborhood.

On "National Service Day," October 24, 1998, the Club's teens, in collaboration with a local nonprofit organization called Chicago Cares, Inc.:

- Painted five apartments housing senior citizens.
- Explained to neighborhood seniors how to use the "Senior Citizen Resource Guide" that the kids at the Club had developed.
- Participated in the Robert Taylor Homes biannual "Clean Up the Hood Day."
- Helped transform a formerly vacant lot into "Mama's Garden"—a flower garden that has been dedicated in memory of a community activist.
- Wrote letters to local, state, and federal officials.
- Participated in a march to support advocating additional initiatives against violence.

The Club's success is also told in the stories of past and present club members. There are many other stories like the one given earlier in this newsletter by Laresa Robinson. For example, Theo Williams is a first-year computer science major attending Northland College in Northern Wisconsin. Theo is the first man in his family to attend college. He told us that his experiences at the Club have

taught him the importance of good sportsmanship, perseverance, leadership, and imagination and helped him develop a positive attitude about life. The Club kept him off the street and out of trouble by keeping him engaged in structured recreation. Theo made the *Chicago Sun-Times* First-Team All-Stars for 2 consecutive years. Theo's most memorable experience was meeting professional basketball players Alan Iverson, Marcus Camby, and Tim Duncan, who conducted a clinic at the Club. Theo also met the famous professional boxer, Muhammad Ali, at the Club. Theo said that meeting these people helped to motivate him.

A past Club member told us that his experiences at the Club have taught him the importance of good sportsmanship, perseverance, leadership, and imagination and helped him develop a positive attitude about life.

Douglas Massey, coauthor of *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* and a former Professor of Public Policy at the University of Chicago, argues, "When you concentrate poverty, you concentrate anything that's correlated with poverty—[single] heads of households, welfare dependency, crime, violence."[7] In addition to these conditions, residents of the Robert Taylor Homes live with high levels of fear, few job opportunities, limited access to goods, limited city services, a struggling public school system, and dangerous and unsanitary living conditions. The residents of this community have little or no political voice in Chicago and, according to Ken Dunkin, the residents respond to governmental relief efforts with an understandably overdeveloped "no outsiders" attitude.

Balancing Support

A whole series of interdependent relationships must remain in balance for the Club to survive. First, the Club could not possibly succeed if it didn't attract the children. According to DeAndre and other children we spoke with, the Club has to be both fun and safe to appeal to children. Considering the Club's limited resources and the neighborhood, neither goal is easily accomplished.

One promising practice the Club employs is rewarding children for completing homework, getting good grades, playing games and sports fairly, and showing an interest in learning about new things. The rewards come in the form of access to computers, healthy snacks, trips to Disney World, paying jobs, and the use of all facilities that are available to them at the Club.

Equally important, but much more difficult to attain, is the goal of a safe environment. The children and their parents must trust that the Club is a safe place. Achieving this goal requires more than simply telling gang members that they can't wear their hats inside. The Club must maintain an understanding with gang members that there is to be no criminal activity or violence at the Club. Prohibiting the display of gang colors is part of this understanding. Getting gang members to see that the Club belongs to the community is essential. The Club has to be both respected and, to an extent, protected by the neighborhood gang members. However, the Club cannot depend on gangs to keep the peace. Doing so could lead to both an imbalance of power among the gangs and a perception by Chicago authorities that the Club is allied with the gangs. This is a very delicate and tenuous balance that must be maintained.

To survive, the Club has to be both fun and safe for children, have the support of the Chicago Police Department, and be accepted by the community.

Another factor to consider is that the Club must have the support, but not the constant presence, of the Chicago Police Department. The Club cannot appear to be too much of an ally of the police or it might be perceived as a police program by the community—just another "outsider" organization that thinks it knows what's best for the Robert Taylor Homes residents. At the same time, it is essential that the Club clearly be supportive of law enforcement efforts and inform children about dangers associated with gang membership.

Yet another key factor to the Club's success is its acceptance by the community. The Club accomplishes this in many ways. Perhaps one of the most important ways is that most of the people who work or volunteer at the Club live in the neighborhood. Also many of the Club's part-time employees are older children from the Robert Taylor development. Club employees make a point to demonstrate that they care about and are not afraid to be in the community. It is not unusual to see Ken Dunkin or other club staff walking around the development talking with children, parents, and community leaders.

The Club must be fun for all ages and a variety of interests, but it must stay within its extremely limited budget. The Club must be safe, but not so structured that it is not fun. The Club must be accepted and protected by the gangs, the police, and the community—all of which, at times, exist in conflict with one another. For now, the staff of the Robert Taylor Boys and Girls Club of Chicago are maintaining this fragile balance. The result of their efforts is an oasis that offers hope for the children of a very troubled community.

Notes

1. Chicago Housing Authority World Wide Web information site (http://www.thecha.org/Taylor_Back.htm).

2. "BJA Grants Spark Club Creativity," *Connections*, Boys and Girls Clubs of America, Atlanta, Georgia, Spring 1997, p. 2.

3. Chicago Housing Authority World Wide Web information site (http://www.thecha.org/Taylor_Demo.htm).

4. Chicago Housing Authority World Wide Web information site (http://www.thecha.org/Taylor_Back.htm).

5. Chicago Housing Authority World Wide Web Information site (http://www.thecha.org/Taylor_Stat.htm).

6. The Club at Robert Taylor received part of a special $150,000 grant in 1994 from BJA that was passed through the Boys and Girls Clubs of Chicago. The Club also received $10,000 grants in both 1997 and 1998 to support its implementation of the "Smart Moves" Violence Prevention Curriculum.

7. Shore, Debra, "The Houses That Gautreaux Built," *The University of Chicago Magazine*, February 1995.

For More Information

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